

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 17411 01 OF 02 011729Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----021777 011733Z /40  
R 011415Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5136

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 17411

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CSCE, UR, US  
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV'S AFL-CIO SPEECH

REF: MOSCOW 17278 (AND PREVIOUS)

HEREWITH, FOR DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION, 3.?- 6'S  
INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF SAKHAROV'S PROPOSED AFL-CIO  
SPEECH. AS INDICATED REFTEL, ORIGINAL RUSSIAN-  
LANGUAGE VERSION WAS POUCHED TO EUR/SOV NOVEMBER 29.  
BEGIN TEXT:

THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEECH HERE IS A GREAT HONOR FOR ME.  
I WANT TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE TO YOU AND TO YOUR  
CHAIRMAN, MR. MEANY.

WE IN THE USSR KNOW OF THE INFLUENCE ON INTERNAL  
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WHICH THE AFL-CIO HAS IN  
YOUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR YOUR  
EVALUATION OF SUCH VITAL MATTERS AS THE PROPOER TASKS  
OF FOREIGN POLICY, OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL  
AND CULTURAL TIES, AND OF AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.  
WE ALSO GREATLY RESPECT YOU RESPONSIBLE UNDERSTANDING  
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OF THE TASKS OF US ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND NATIONAL  
SECURITY--ON WHICH DEPENDS THE FUTURE OF NOT ONLY  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--AS WELL AS YOUR APPROACH TOWARD  
THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS ROLE OF YOUR  
ORGANIZATION, WHICH REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF THE  
BROADEST STRATA OF WORKING PEOPLE, IS ONE OF THE  
MANIFESTATIONS OF THE PLURALISTIC NATURE OF AMERICAN

SOCIETY WHICH IS SUPRISING TO US, SURPRISING  
BECAUSE THESE MANIFESTATIONS ARE IN STRIKING CONTRAST TO WHAT  
WE SEE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. IN THIS PLURALISM, OR, TO  
PUT IT MORE SIMPLY, IN DEMOCRACY, LIES THE ENORMOUS,  
REAL POWER OF YOUR SOCIETY, THE PROFOUND SOURCE OF  
ITS SUCCESSES. IT IS OF COURSE TRUE THAT OUR  
SINGLE-PARTY, SINGLE-IDEOLOGY, CLOSED CASTE SOCIETY  
IS IN MANY WAYS DIFFERENT FROM YOUR SOCIETY. AND  
YET, NOT SO DIFFERENT THAT WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND  
YOUR PROBLEMS, AND YOU OURS; NOT SO DIFFERENT THAT  
WE CANNOT TRY TO WORK OUT SOME SORT OF A COMMON  
COURSE OF CONDUCT.

IT IS SAID THAT THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE, ITS ACTIVE AND PRACTICAL GOODWILL AND FEELING  
OF ITS OWN WORTH, IS EXPRESSED IN THE QUESTION,  
WHICH HAS BECOME A NATIONAL TRADITION -- "HOW CAN I HELP  
YOU?" IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IN INVITING ME TO THIS  
MEETING, YOU ARE IN EFFECT ALSO ASKING ME THIS  
QUESTION. I WILL TRY TO ANSWER IT, FOR WE ARE  
DEALING HERE NOT SIMPLY WITH HELP TO US, BUT ABOVE  
ALL WITH THE DEFENSE OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN VALUES, THE  
UNIVERSAL FUTURE OF MANKIND, UNIVERSAL HUMAN SECURITY--  
IN OTHER WORDS, WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH INTERFERENCE  
IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO SPEAK OF THE QUESTION  
OF COMMUNICATIONS, WHICH IS DECISIVE FOR THE WHOLE  
STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR AND FOR MY  
PUBLIC ACTIVITY. THE ONLY WEAPON IN OUR STRUGGLE  
IS PUBLICITY, THE OPEN AND FREE WORD. INSIDE OUR  
COUNTRY, ALL CHANNELS OF MASS INFORMATION ARE IN  
THE HANDS OF THE PARTY-STATE APPARATUS. DURING  
THIS ERA OF DETENTE AND A BROADENING STRUGGLE FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS, TIES WITH THE WEST, ACQUISITION IN  
THE WEST OF INFORMATION ABOUT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS, AND THE MOST EFFECTIVE, EXACT UTILIZATION  
OF THIS INFORMATION, HAVE ACQUIRED ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE.  
AUTHORITIES IN THE USSR UNDERTAKE THE MOST SHAMELESS  
MEASURES TO CUT OFF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH  
THE WEST, AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ONLY BY ACTIVELY  
OPPOSING THS CAN WE ANTICIPATE SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION  
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

ARE YOU AWARE THAT HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE WISHING  
TO EMIGRATE DO NOT RECEIVE THE REQUIRED INVITATIONS  
FROM ABROAD, INVITATIONS WHICH THE AUTHORITIES ALWAYS  
ARBITRARILY REQUIRE, IN VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT OF

FREE CHOICE OF COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE? BECAUSE OF THIS, SUCH PEOPLE ARE NOT EVN OFFICIALLY INCLUDED IN THE NUMBER OF THOSE WISHING TO EMIGRATE. MANY OF THOSE WITH RELATIVES ABROAD ARE DEPRIVED OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH THEM. LETTERS, TELEGRAMS, BOOKS, PACKAGES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MATERIALS DO NOT REACH ADDRESSEES. THE AUTHORITIES TEMPORARILY OR PERMANENTLY SHUT OFF THE TELEPHONE OF PEOPLE WHO ALLEGEDLY HAVE UNDESIRABLE INTERNATIONAL CONVERSATIONS OVER THE TELEPHONE, THEREBY MAKING CLEAR THAT THE KGB LISTENS TO CONVERSATIONS.

EVEN THE INVITATION TO TODAY'S MEETING WAS MARKED BY SUCH VIOLATIONS. MANDEL'SHTAM, ALEKSANDR  
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PODRABINEK, ANATOLIY MARCHENKO AND I DID NOT RECEIVE LETTERS WITH INVITATIONS. RATHER, I RECEIVED AN ENVELOPE WITH A MOCKING DRAWING OF THE EXTINCT MONSTER BRONTOSAURUS. THE KGB EVIDENTLY HAD IN MIND THOSE THEY CALL REACTIONARIES, PERHAPS YOU, MR. MEANY, AND OF COURSE ME. BUT IN ACTUAL FACT THE PRONTOSAURUS IS THE REPRESSIVE SYSTEM WHICH SPAWNS SUCH ILLEGALITIES. THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 27, AFTER ALREADY HAVING DISCUSSED THE MISSING INVITATION ALOUD WITH MY WIFE IN OUR THOROUGHLY KGB-BUGGED APARTMENT, I FINALLY RECEIVED YOUR INVITATION.

WHAT ACTIONS DO WE EXPECT FROM YOU:

-- FACILITATION OF A BROAD CAMPAIGN IN THE PRESS AND IN CONGRESS AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF THE FREEDOM OF EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION;

-- FACILITATION OF THE SOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION ON THE LEVEL OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATIONS;

-- MEASURES TO INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RADIO BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE VOICE OF AMERICA HAVE ITS OWN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN THE USSR, SO THAT THIS STATION CAN TRANSMIT MORE OFTEN, IN FULL AND WITHOUT UNFORTUNATE DISTORTIONS THE DOCUMENTS IT RECEIVES ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS;

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ACTION SS-25

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-----022219 011911Z /42

R 011415Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5137

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 17411

STADIS////////////////////////////////

EXDIS

--ATTAINMENT OF UNHINDERED, INTERNATIONAL  
TELEVISION BROADCASTS FROM COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES.

I RELY UPON THE AFL-CIO TO CONTINUE ITS ACTIVE  
SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREE CHOICE OF COUNTRY  
OF RESIDENCE, BECAUSE IN MY VIEW THIS IS A KEY  
PROBLEM IN THE LARGER STRUGGLE FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM  
FROM THE ARBITRARINESS OF THE STATE. I REMEMBER  
WITH GRATITUDE PRESIDENT MEANY'S DECISIVE SPEECHES  
IN SUPPORT OF THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT.

THE FOLLOWING EMINENT PARTICIPANTS IN THE  
HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT ARE NOW IN PRISON OR EXILE  
IN THE USSR: SERGEY KOVALEV, SEMYON GLUZMAN,  
ANATOLIY MARCHENKO, ANDREY TVERDOKHLEBOV, MAL'VA  
LANDA, MIKOLA RUDENKO, OLEKA TIKHIY, AND MANY  
OTHERS. AWAITING TRIAL ARE GMSAKHURDIYA, GAYASKAS,  
GINZBURG, KOSTAVA, MARINOVICH, MATUSEVICH, ORLOV,  
PAILODZE, PYATKUS AND SHCHARANSKIY. THE PRIESTS  
VINS AND POMANYUK, MANY DOZENS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS,  
AND LEADER OF THE VSKHON IGOR' OGURTSOV, ARE  
IN PRISON. MANY WHO TRIED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY--  
PARTICIPANTS IN THE SO-CALLED LENINGRAD AIRPLANE AFFAIR,  
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ZOSIMOV, FEDORENKO AND DOZENS OF OTHERS--ARE IN  
DETENTION AND IN PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS, ON THE ILLEGAL  
CHARGE OF TREASON TO THEIR COUNTRY.

IT SHOULD BE A MATTER OF HONOR FOR AMERICA  
TO ACHIEVE THE RELEASE OF UKRAINIAN ARTIST PETR  
RUBAN, CONVICTED FOR PREPARING A COMMEMORATIVE  
PRESENT -- A WOODEN BOOK WITH A MODEL OF THE STATUE  
OF LIBERTY--AS A GIFT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN  
HONOR OF THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

RECENTLY THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS  
AND ENGINEERS WORKING IN THE FIELD OF COMPUTER  
TECHNOLOGY ADOPTED THE DECISION TO END CONTACTS  
WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES IN THE USSR IF ANATOLIY  
SHCHARANSKIY SHOULD BE CONVICTED. I ANTICIPATE  
SIMILAR STEPS IN THE CASES OF UNJUSTIFIED REJECTION  
OF REQUESTS BY SLEPAK, MEYMAN, GOL'FAND AND  
MANY OTHERS TO EMIGRATE. I CONSIDER THAT STEPS  
SUCH AS REJECTION OF CONTACTS ARE JUSTIFIED IN THE  
STRUGGLE FOR SPECIFIC HUMAN LIVES AND INDIVIDUAL FATES.

DETENTE IS NOT ONLY THE ATTEMPT, THOUGH  
ESTABLISHING CONTACTS, TRADE, TECHNOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL  
TIES, TO WEAKEN THE THREAT OF UNIVERSAL DESTRUCTION.  
IT IS ALSO THE COMPLEX, MANY-SIDED OPPOSITION OF TWO  
SYSTEMS, AT THE BASIS OF WHICH LIES THE CONTRADICTION  
BETWEEN TOTALITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY, BETWEEN  
VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEIR OBSERVANCE,  
BETWEEN THE STRIVING TO CLOSE SOCIETY AND THE  
STRIVING TO OPEN IT. ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS OPPOSITION  
DEPENDS THE ONVERGENCE OF OUR SOCIETIES -- WHICH  
IS THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION AND  
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TO GENERAL DESTRUCTION.

SINCE THE TIME OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE, WHICH  
OFFICIALLY PROCLAIMED THIS MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE,  
THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY  
STRENGTHENED. AMERICAN CAN BE PROUD THAT ITS  
PRESIDENT PROCLAIMED THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS  
THE MORAL BASIS FOR US POLICY. NEW FORMS IN THE  
STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE ARISEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA,  
POLAND, AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE. IN  
WESTERN COUNTRIES, THE IDEAS OF THIS STRUGGLE INCREASINGLY  
PENETRATE PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS, UNITING THE MOST  
VARIED PEOPLE, FROM CONSERVATIVES TO EUROCOMMUNISTS.  
A FEW DAYS AGO WE HEARD, WITH A FEELING OF PROFOUND  
JOY, OF THE POLITICAL AMNESTY IN YUGOSLAVIA, THE  
FIRST, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST  
COUNTRIES. THIS DARING AND HUMANE STEP IS EVIDENCE  
OF AN IRREVERSIBLE MORAL VICTORY OF THE IDEOLOGY OF

HUMAN RIGHTS OVER THE IDEOLOGY OF TOTALITARIANISM.  
NOW IT IS A MATTER FOR THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER  
COUNTRIES -- FROM THE USSR TO INDONESIA\*

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE AFL-CIO, WITH ITS  
ENORMOUS INFLUENCE UPON THE INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL  
POLICY OF THE USA, CAN BECOME ONE OF THE CENTERS  
WHICH COORDINATES AND DIRECTS ACTIONS IN DEFENSE  
OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IN DEFENSE  
OF OUR COMMON FUTURE.  
THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.

28 NOVEMBER 1977 A. SAKHAROV

END TEXT  
TOON

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**TAGS:** PINT, SHUM, UR, US, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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